

**STRATEGY
RESEARCH
PROJECT**

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Defense or any of its agencies. This document may not be released for open publication until it has been cleared by the appropriate military service or government agency.

**RUDIMENTS OF A GRAND STRATEGY FOR
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

BY

**LIEUTENANT COLONEL (P) MONROE P. WARNER
United States Army**

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A:

**Approved for public release.
Distribution is unlimited.**

19990607 045

USAWC CLASS OF 1999



U.S. ARMY WAR COLLEGE, CARLISLE BARRACKS, PA 17013-5050

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED

USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

**RUDIMENTS OF A GRAND STRATEGY
FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

by

LTC(P) Monroe P. Warner
United States Army

Dr. Craig Nation
Project Advisor

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Defense or any of its agencies. This document may not be released for open publication until it has been cleared by the appropriate military service or government agency.

U.S. Army War College
Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17013

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A:
Approved for public release.
Distribution is unlimited.

ABSTRACT

AUTHOR: MONROE P. WARNER, LTC(P), UNITED STATES ARMY

TITLE: RUDIMENTS OF A GRAND STRATEGY FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FORMAT: "USAWC Strategy Research Project"

DATE: 8 APR 1999 PAGES: 44 CLASSIFICATION: Unclassified

The United States continues to languish in the post-Cold War doldrums with no consensus over what our strategy should be in the world. For two generations the Cold War allowed us to easily define ourselves as that which opposed communism. We became strategically complacent and now, with no heir apparent for an enemy, what is seen as an anachronistic military dies a very slow, painful, agonizing death by a thousand cuts. Sun Tzu told us to "know your enemy." But he more poignantly demanded of us that we know our self. The ancient warrior sage of China was one with the Tao, understood the unity of opposites, and fundamentally recognized that enemy and self remain "tails and heads" of the same coin. Your enemy can only be defined to the degree that you will precisely define yourself. This paper reflects on the enemy we must face by first taking an exacting look in the mirror at what we aspire to be as a people, the American body politic. With a thorough understanding of ourselves, an enemy does start to materialize, and the fundamentals of a viable grand strategy become tangible from the haze that currently enshrouds us.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----|
| ABSTRACT | iii |
| A FEW WORDS FROM THE MASTER | 1 |
| SETTING FOR STRATEGIC VISION: CONVOY IN THE DESERT | 3 |
| KNOW YOURSELF | 6 |
| THE ANCHOR OF IDEOLOGY | 6 |
| WHO WE ARE | 7 |
| KNOW YOUR ENEMY | 13 |
| ENDS, WAYS, AND MEANS IN AN ECONOMIC WORLD | 13 |
| NUISANCES AND THE THREAT | 16 |
| THE ETHNIC-PURE MODEL AND THE ENEMY OF GROUPISM | 20 |
| CONCLUSION | 26 |
| ENDNOTES | 29 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 37 |

A FEW WORDS FROM THE MASTER

"Clinton still has not articulated a vision for the role of America in world affairs/... there remain no guidelines for the application of US force, no walls between police action and military action, no sturdy principles of US engagement/... political leaders of both parties have struggled to define the extent or/.../the limits of US interests."

—David Shribman,
Boston Globe, March 25, 1999

"It's the economy, stupid!"

—James Carville's door,
1992 presidential campaign

Good grand strategy never ceases. It endures through all times; always cajoling, pressuring, pushing, forming, and shaping the world environment to suit its ends. In recent years there has been a growing tendency to increasingly define US interests only in terms of economic health - as if the economy were the sum total of existence. Some people openly tout that economic matters are all that matter. If we desire to pass on a culture of any worth to our posterity, ideology cannot be hedonistically sacrificed on the altar of a healthy economy. There are things of more enduring value than today's prosperity. Free markets and the rule of law are the foundation of human freedom, not just convenient contributors to today's soaring Dow Jones average. Our ideals must transcend the sense of expedience that drives the marketplace if we harbor any hope of passing intact our culture and legacy of freedom to succeeding generations.

Today, in a wildly expanding, interdependent, global economy that places a financial premium on mental agility and flexibility, we seem to have allowed these lucrative cranial attributes essential to modern businessmen to contaminate the gene pool of our ideological thinking. The resulting mutation in our ideological pedigree strongly resembles relativism and expediency, the traditional genealogical traits of realism. Our traditional American idealism is irreconcilable with the growing influence of realism. In a climate of ideological confusion and tempest, our foreign policy, national interests, and strategy are in severe flux, if not free-fall.

Of course, Sun Tzu told us to "know your enemy." But he more poignantly demanded of us that we know our self.¹ The ancient warrior sage of China was one with the Tao, understood the unity of opposites², and fundamentally recognized that enemy and self remain "tails and heads" of the same coin. Your enemy can only be defined to the degree that you will precisely define yourself. We can no longer identify our selves, much less our enemies. We are aimlessly adrift waiting to be dashed upon the shoals of some brutal reef of reality.³ Defining our selves and our enemies remains the challenge for imaginative and principled leaders. If our leadership fails to provide it, the ancient biblical proverb applies: "Where there is no vision, the people perish."⁴ Knowing neither our selves nor our enemy, Sun Tzu assures us that we face peril.⁵

SETTING FOR STRATEGIC VISION: CONVOY IN THE DESERT

Envision a long convoy of vehicle stretched out on the trackless desert floor. As we glance in our superpower rear view mirror, we find an entire global population meandering behind us as we feel our way along in the shifting sands of the new millennium. Periodically, the wary travelers look toward us in the front for direction. If our eyes become transfixed on some of the grotesque images in the mirror behind us rather than some destination to the front, we will certainly and inadvertently veer off course and soon be helplessly lost. While we need to maintain an eye on our destination to the front to stay on course, oblivion to what is behind us and narrow, expedient self-interest will also certainly lead to disaster. With six billion people trying to follow 260 million of us, we can rapidly find ourselves with a lot of frustrated, hungry travelers in the inhospitable desert, especially if we are wavering and unsure of our destination. Surely, if we don't know where we are going, any road will get us there. We must first have a collective sense of our own destination among the occupants of our own lead vehicle.

If growing frustration consumes some of those behind us and they veer off on a new course with an alternative destination that will ultimately threaten ours, then we will have to stop our forward progress, go back, and beat them into submission. We must maintain the warfighting capability to accomplish this undesirable, unsought, ugly task; or, better yet, enough

capability to deter the miscreants from ever deviating in the first place. Backtracking and fighting takes time, delays our arrival at our own destination, and provides more opportunities to lose other fellow travelers who will grow increasingly frustrated and impatient in the harsh environs being traversed. Our best interests are served by peaceful, steady progress toward the destination; not routine halting of the convoy to beat fellow travelers into submission. Our strategy should recognize both our practical interests in avoiding violence by steadily proceeding towards our destination and our fundamental revulsion to the resort to violence in pursuit of ends.⁶

There remains only one destination for us out there in the desert and that is an oasis of human equality and freedom before a Creator who grants each and every person their individual rights and where governments serve their citizens by ensuring those rights. Some travelers may take longer to get to the destination we seek, and that is okay; but none can be allowed to pursue an alternative destination that will threaten us along our route or put us in peril at our final destination. How do we engage the travelers behind us in the desert in such a way as to keep them on course with us to our destination? How do we win without fighting, and thus maintain our steady forward momentum across the desert wastelands to the flowering oasis of human liberty and opportunity that awaits all of us?

Our grand strategy should strive to preclude the alternative destinations from arising and becoming viable that could imperil

our arrival at our destination. By preclusion, we prevent the war from ever having to be fought that could threaten us on our journey. We have done well this past century by seeing to the demise of monarchies, the dismembering of colonialism, the eradicating of the Nazi fascism, and the ushering of the Soviet communism to the dustbin of history. While these no longer represent the specter of viable destinations for our fellow travelers, other hostile, tempting destinations will rise out of nowhere in the desert sands. Preclusion implies pro-action rather than inaction or reaction and is inherently inconsistent with the slow and deliberate, wait-and-see approach of liberal democracy.⁷ The strategy must be sufficiently compelling to overcome our typical domestic apathy and indifference to the plight of others beyond our borders. The folk wisdom that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" applies here, but, to preclude, we must first be able to conceptualize what constitutes a hostile destination. What and who is the enemy that compels us to act and to preclude?

This paper reflects on the enemy we must face by first taking an exacting look in the mirror at what we are as a people, the American body politic. With a thorough understanding of ourselves, an enemy does start to materialize, and the fundamentals of a viable grand strategy become tangible from the haze that currently enshrouds us.

KNOW YOURSELF

"Who are we?" and "What matters?"/... Seldom do these critical, community-forming questions move into our institutions or the broader community/... when we have no agreements on why we belong together, the institutions we create to serve us become battlegrounds that serve no one/... Our institutions dissipate into incoherence and impotence. They do not serve us, but only reflect back to us the lack of cohering agreements at the heart of our community." 8

—Margaret Wheatley & Myron Kellner-Rogers

THE ANCHOR OF IDEOLOGY

For what must we stand and fight? What makes us what we are? When the US stops pronouncing, defending, and acting consistent with our ideology then we stop being us - our ideology is the source and lifeblood of our strength as a people.⁹ By striving for something greater than narrow national self-interest and security, our ideology makes us bigger than our selves.¹⁰ We acquire a perch from which we can advocate an order that transcends the failed ways of the past.¹¹ Our ideology is the basis for our American idealism and exceptionalism. It is what sets us apart and gives us legitimacy and moral authority to speak and act in the world that largely defers to our benign hegemony and non-coercive leadership.¹²

Yes, our economic power allows us to buy items and favor from those who sell such things in the world and our military power gives us the ability to coerce, destroy, and apply naked force in

the diminishing number of circumstances where instruments of blunt trauma becomes necessary or appropriate.¹³ But these are mere physical manifestations, the spirit is swayed by the power of ideas. Napoleon reminds us that spirit is what matters: "The morale is to the physical as three is to one," and "There are only two forces in the world: the sword and the spirit. In the long run, the sword is always defeated by the spirit."¹⁴

Ideology deals in the realm that really matters: that of the spirit. Let's review the core components of our unique ideology to better grasp what we are.

WHO WE ARE

We are an immigrant population that embraced the ideal of human freedom and, in doing so, created the greatest nation the world has ever seen. In our revolutionary system, each individual human is equal before the Creator¹⁵ and the state pays ultimate respect to this fundamental concept through its mirror requirement for equality before the law. American rule of law springs from the common law experience.¹⁶ The written law is the source for determining right and justice - not the wisdom of man.¹⁷ The law is based on Judeo-Christian principles with strong religious and moral underpinnings. The individual human being is elevated in importance in this theology¹⁸ and, as Christ's unique contribution to the realm of political philosophy, every human is held to be equal to one another before the Creator.¹⁹ The

cherished rule of law tradition that we adopted through Western civilization from ancient Rome creates constancy and dependability with a means for incremental change to adapt with the evolving human condition.²⁰ In the long run, the rule of law has proven far superior to advancing the lot of humankind than any of its competitors - the rule of man,²¹ might makes right, or survival of the fittest. This, then, is who we are: we are the advocates of the rule of law and we abhor any trappings of the rule of man.

From our firm commitment to basic human equality springs our enduring ideals of liberty, tolerance, and the inalienable individual rights accorded us by the Creator and referred to in the Declaration of Independence and then codified in the Bill of Rights. Our philosophy remains ensconced in the 18th century's Enlightenment. John Locke provided the foundation for the political thinking that was adopted in our Constitution. Enshrining individual rights became our crusade and the rule of law became our touchstone. Freed of the hierarchical and authoritarian shackles of religious and royal dogma, scientific inquiry leapt forward engaging in a frenetic and unhindered search for truth. The unfettered pursuit of truth thrust us ever more rapidly into a liberal society characterized by freedom of expression, intellectual inquiry, and technological innovation.²² The scientific method, technological breakthroughs of the industrial revolution, and human freedom proved an unbeatable combination. The experiment in human liberty on the North

American continent rapidly demonstrated success beyond anyone's wildest imagination. This, then, is who we are: the world's bastion and bulwark for individual rights.²³

Our Constitution and its form of government are designed with no greater purpose than to protect the individual's rights.²⁴ The founding fathers understood that the greatest threat to individual liberty was all too often the insidious and wicked nature of government.²⁵ At all times, the Constitution imparts barriers to rapid action, divisions of power within the government, and checks and balances to preclude efficiencies that could be turned on the people. More over, it strives to prevent the pernicious slide toward a tyranny of the majority that could trample the rights of the individual. The workings of the purposely designed inefficient government of the republic required long lead times to build consensus, create coalitions, and achieve compromise. Time for thoughtful reflection and deliberation was seen as one of the best tools to protect the individual from the ravages of the mob and wild emotion. To this end, the founders created a Constitutional republic of layered representative government rather than a more direct democracy.²⁶ This then is who we are: a sovereign people who maintain a republican form of minimalist government designed to ensure the protection of individual rights.

First among John Locke's natural rights was the individual's right to own private property, the right to own the proceeds of his own labors. By harnessing the vast energy of the nation

state and imparting that power back to the individual by protecting his or her rights through a rigid adherence to a firm rule of law, the creative genius of the individual was unleashed.²⁷ Productivity and entrepreneurship exploded. Prosperity and material well-being ensued. The enlightened thinking of Adam Smith provided the foundations for economic prosperity in our nation.²⁸ We have proven conclusively that by letting each individual pursue his or her own best interest, the greatest good for all in terms of prosperity is achieved. Adam Smith's invisible hand of the marketplace has worked magnificently everywhere from embryonic factories in 18th century England to websites and the network economic miracle of the internet.²⁹ This then is who we are: A people that embrace basic human rights, the rule of law, and their natural consequence: free market capitalism.

Our fundamental belief in the equality of man and our successful immigrant history present a powerful case for the expansion of liberalism³⁰ throughout the world. The unparalleled progress amid a huge influx of global immigrants validated the inspired liberalism of the founding fathers and conclusively demonstrated to the world a universal applicability of Enlightenment thinking to the human condition. Our success amid rich cultural diversity directly undermines the legitimacy of regimes founded on precepts of cultural, ethnic, racial, tribal, religious, or caste purity or superiority. By our mere presence in the world, we impart powerful momentum to the forces of change

that pursue comparable freedoms and prosperity for exploited and oppressed peoples everywhere. On every continent, people have proven that when the principles of human freedom are applied and individual rights are protected, the human condition vastly improves by any conceivable, rational measure.³¹ Like waters tumbling down a ravine, our concepts persistently and imperceptibly but inevitably erode the shoals of despotism wherever they reside until a navigable channel of freedom eventually evolves. This, then, is who we are: we are a powerful role model encouraging the advance of liberalism.

We fervently believe that our best interests advance via the vehicle of peace; not war. Our New World idealism is rooted in our revulsion to Old World realism and its Machiavellian, manipulative, and exploitative approach to maintaining international order. With the end of the 30 Years War and the 1648 Peace of Westphalia that established the modern state-system, Europe pursued Balance of Power to maintain order.³² The United States, however, has pursued alternatives to balance of power, suggesting that international order must be achieved through means open to adjudication, pursuit of justice, and peaceful resolution of differences. In European foreign policy, balance of power mattered; not morality. In America, justice and morals mattered, individually and in statecraft, and the ends did not justify the means.³³ Pursuit of narrow national self-interest is ultimately destabilizing, the United States maintains, as has been proven in two global conflagrations between 1913 and 1945.

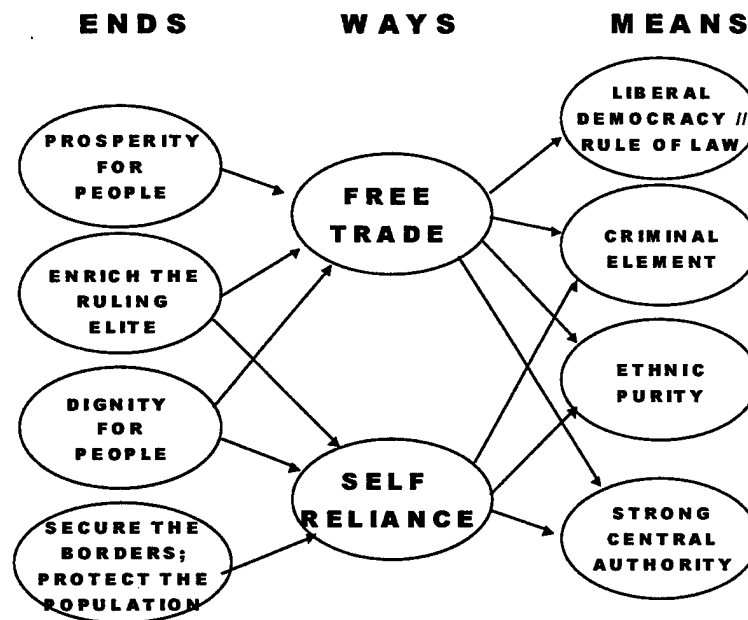
Richelieu's *raison d'etat* and Bismark's *realpolitik* have dismally failed all of us. The United States has consistently maintained since the Wilson Administration in 1918 that some form of collective security among nation states is the only means by which international order can be achieved. The United States pursues its interests by the vehicle of peace, not war. We restrain from the use of violence whenever possible and we condemn aggression as a violation of law - a criminal act.³⁴

When we understand who we are, it becomes clearer who our enemy must be. When we start musing about what we will fight for in the year 2020 and who we will fight against, the focus starts to narrow quickly. What will we fight to defend, maintain, or propagate? The United States is the bulwark and bastion for individual rights and the rule of law in the world. We believe in minimal government influence in the lives of the individual citizens who make up the nation. We embrace human freedom, basic human rights, and free market capitalism. We reject the notion that ends justify the means - the means employed must be just. We do not readily employ violence in pursuit of narrow self-interest. Our best interests are served by the engine of peace; not conflict. We are an open, unabashed advocate for human dignity and human rights for all people, everywhere.

KNOW YOUR ENEMY

*"Know the enemy and know yourself; in a hundred battles you will never be in peril."*³⁵ —Sun Tzu

Having identified who we are, our enemy becomes clearer. Very few destinations appear out on the desert horizon of the modern age that could contest a society based on individual rights and the rule of law. Upon closer examination, only one is a genuine threat; the others are mere nuisances:



ENDS, WAYS, AND MEANS IN AN ECONOMIC WORLD

All peoples face a choice with regard to their future in the world. What is it that they seek in terms of an end? Often the future endstate is perceived as a choice between prosperity and dignity of the people. For some traumatized peoples, security remains the paramount objective. For other tyrannized peoples, a

ruling elite seeks its self-aggrandizement as an end in itself. These various ends suggest distinctive ways and means.

There are basically two ways to achieve the ends that peoples seek: free-trade and self-reliance. The world understands that the greatest near-term prosperity can be achieved by engaging in open markets and free trade as part of the modern global economy. This prosperity comes at a societal cost in terms of a dependence on others for well-being - external events over which a people exert no control or influence can determine the health of the domestic economy and populace. A people take a leap of faith when they proceed down this road. Those peoples who find such dependence on others to be demeaning or see it as a weakness that could be exploited by foreigners are apt to choose another course. Other peoples find the narrow pursuit of prosperity to be revolting, shallow, or short-sighted - a degenerative influence on the minds and pride of a people.³⁶ Often, those who find prosperity via free trade to be inappropriate as a goal seek dignity as an end more appropriate for a people's pursuit. Dignity is generally thought to be a by-product of self-reliance. By establishing the ability to fend for themselves - of being independent - it is believed that a sense of dignity and unity among a people is achieved. India in the 1950s, the Soviet Union, China before the 1980s, Cuba under Castro, and North Korea are prime examples. A culture's self reliance is achieved by invoking trade restrictions or barriers that perform an isolating function for the people and their economy. A sense of self-

reliance and independence is therefore purchased at a substantive price to the objective population who could both obtain goods at lower prices via the global economy and obtain more profits by selling what they produce at their respective comparative advantage on unrestricted global markets.

An economy must have means to maintain the internal control that keep it functional. Rules need to be enforced. Contracts must be honored. Destructive behavior must be policed. An economy requires stability and order to function so that the society does not degenerate and disintegrate into massive internecine violence. Failed states such as Somalia, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Haiti, and Bosnia attest to the kind of disintegration that occurs when no effective internal controls exist. The best economies are bustling, seething, broiling, and dynamic cauldrons of constant motion and activity. What are the means that allow an economy to cook and not to burn? Four alternative means exist for today's economies: a very robust and capable rule of law, a strong central authority, an effective criminal element, and strong and resilient cultural norms among an ethnically-pure population. The dilemma that confronts a people is this: while controls are necessary, the more centralized and directive the control that is exerted the less creative, adaptive, and productive the economy is going to be.³⁷

NUISANCES AND THE THREAT

As long as a global free-market economy exists, the self-imposed poverty of the self-reliant way disadvantages its adherents and they languish with a diminishing capability to contest the wills or capacities of the peoples in the advanced, prosperous, free-market world.³⁸ Therefore, the threat must materialize from among those who seek prosperity by free-trade ways. Peoples who submit to the rule of law in a global free-market economy commit to resolving inter-state differences through the pursuit of justice via an established judicial framework. It remains highly unlikely that these people will engage in armed conflict against one another in that they have much more to lose by conflict than they could ever hope to gain.³⁹ The threat must arise from those pursuing free trade economies by alternative means inimical to liberalism and the rule of law. The alternative means to the rule-of-law model are simply the authoritarian model, the criminal model, and the ethnic-pure model. While the liberal-democratic rule-of-law model is most advantageous, it is also the most difficult to achieve⁴⁰ and the desire for near-term gain tends to drive a people toward more expedient alternatives.

The rule-of-law model creates an aura of fairness where rules apply equally to all players in the economy. The manner in which participants engage each other is codified with the omnipotent power of the state engaged in the enforcement of the code and the rules. The rule-of-law model allows maximum latitude for Adam

Smith's "invisible hand" of the marketplace to work its miracle. This model creates an environment most conducive to agility and flexibility on the part of entrepreneurs who can rapidly shift their capacities to the most lucrative opportunities appearing in the market economy. While independent entrepreneurs and decentralized power and decision making create the best market conditions and the greatest prosperity, the society that submits to the rule-of-law model experiences atomization leading to catharsis when trying to collectively respond to needs arising across the entirety of the society.⁴¹

The authoritarian model, on the other hand, can respond instantaneously and collectively to any societal or cultural need. To avoid economic lethargy, however, the authoritarian model requires a guru in the seat of power who knows all and can see all. The guru can predict what economic pursuits the people should follow to achieve maximum benefit in the global economy and he directs, influences, and shepherds the domestic economy towards these most lucrative areas by coercion and influence while ruthlessly squelching any domestic discontent. The Chilean economy in the 1980s under Pinochet, the Korean economy in the 1970s under Park, and the Indonesian economy under Suharto remain prime examples of authoritarian free-market regimes. While the authoritarian model may have been viable for industrial-age economies where stability and predictability reigned for whole segments of economies for entire epochs, times have now changed. The information-age, globally-networked economy is too fluid and

dynamic and requires too much agility for any centralized authority figure to top-down direct where the economy should proceed. While such central direction might still work for economies heavily reliant on the least lucrative enterprises of extracting natural resources, agriculture, and the heaviest of industry; it is too inflexible for all other market activity in an information-age economy. A people pursuing the authoritarian model for free market prosperity will now relegate themselves to third-rate economic and competitive status among members of the global economy. The state that relies on a strong central authority for economic viability could, at times, be a nuisance, but will never be sufficiently competitive and advanced to be a genuine capable threat to the rule-of-law model economies.

Where there is a void or ineptness on the part of legitimate authorities to meet the needs of people in a market economy, a criminal element will grow to provide for the need at a price. Once established, the criminal element will pursue profits wherever they can be found. Lucrative, legitimate business remains a prime target for criminals due to the opportunity of making fortunes by skimming profits. Should ineptness by legitimate authorities be gross, the opportunity for criminal dominance of an entire economy becomes possible. The Colombian and Russian economies of the 1990s remain prime examples of criminal-dominated free-market regimes. The criminal-dominated economy possesses a tremendous incentive to stay innovative and competitive - and therefore stay profitable - while at the same

time benefiting by being unconstrained by rules, laws, conscience, and any sense of propriety. Despite the embarrassment of having criminal-dominated free-market states, these regimes become more of a nuisance than a threat. Rogue criminal states are more fixated on leaching illicit profits from an existing legitimate global economy than they are on disrupting the order on which their profits ultimately depend.

The threat begins taking shape when we understand the final means to control a vibrant free market: the ethnically-pure model. The strong, interlocking cultural norms of an industrious, ethnically-pure population can provide necessary structural and subliminal controls for an economy to prosper without the unproductive negatives associated with the authority model and the criminal model nor the collective catharsis that springs from the atomization prevalent in the liberal-democratic rule-of-law model. The Japanese economy after the 1960s, the Korean economy after the 1970s, and the Chinese economy after the 1980s remain prime examples of successful ethnically-pure free-market regimes. The success and prosperity of the ethnically-pure model makes it a clear and distinct alternative to the liberal-democratic free-market model. An economically viable alternative can pose a multi-dimensional threat to us:

- Direct external threat. By being prosperous, it can afford the means to directly contest our capacity to project force and maintain the order on which the global free-market economy, the source of our strength, depends.

- Indirect external threat. By sewing seeds of disorder against which members of the global economy cannot or are unable to respond, it can undermine the faith in and the legitimacy of the global free-market economy leaders - a faith that is fundamental to the institutional framework that under-girds the free-market. Legitimacy leads to deference and the deference accorded the leaders of the global free-market economy is what allows them freedom to act to maintain stability and order. Without deference toward leaders who can act to maintain order, the system collapses.
- Internal threat. By offering an appealing alternative to our ideological destination of liberalism, it can foster a like-minded domestic following - a fifth column - that diminishes our will to coalesce as a people and fight for and defend our ideals when they are threatened.

THE ETHNICALLY-PURE MODEL AND THE ENEMY OF GROUPISM

Looking through the lens of economic viability allows us to focus on the traits of the future threat. An economically viable people that profess means inimical to our ends, ways, and means become the threat. The most formidable, identifiable force now arrayed against us has become that of a new-age fascist ilk⁴² clinging to ethnic purity as its *raison d'être*. Lester Thurow best captures the nature of the new economically viable ethnic entity:

Why not break up into tribal ethnic groups and fight it out? Such sentiments are legitimized by today's world

economy. Everyone now understands that one does not have to be a big economy with a big internal market to succeed. City-states like Hong Kong or Singapore can succeed. It used to be that everyone thought that breaking up a country into smaller pieces meant a lower standard of living; today everyone knows that isn't true. As a result, one can go it alone and does not have to cooperate with other ethnic groups to have a high standard of living. With this knowledge goes one of the previously existing impediments to ethnic feuding.⁴³

I categorize the trend towards the ethnically-pure model as groupism. Groupism is the demand for political recognition based on ethnic group identity as opposed to the universal recognition granted within liberalism based on individual humanity. Groupism's demonstrated economic viability makes it a potent, realistic threat. Peoples everywhere are susceptible to getting hooked by the lure of the ethnically-pure bait.

Ethnic groups are not creatures of the nation state nor are they beholden to any nation state.⁴⁴ The nation state is a recent phenomenon;⁴⁵ but the lure to group along ethnic lines is firmly rooted in the beginnings of our human evolution where survival came from successfully inculcating and propagating the herd instinct. Radical groupism grips hold of the darkest recesses of the human psyche, appealing to gut instincts regarding security in the herd. It has tremendous conscious and sub-conscious appeal. It excludes others and breeds intolerance. Left unchecked, groupism incites fierce inter- and intra-factional struggles for survival characterized by ever-growing cycles of vitriolic retribution. It is an ideology aimed right at a

weakness planted in our brains from a million years of evolution: the animalistic instinct that protection is provided by the herd.

The ethnically-pure model establishes a destination that directly attacks the foundations of liberalism. If successful in spawning sufficient degenerative domestic movements, it ultimately saps us of our will and ability to fight if it does not first destroy us by disintegration in the centrifuge of balkanization. The proponents of groupism are not organized as a single effort; they do not need to be. Since they share a common loathing for what liberalism represents in the world, the groupists efforts consistently undermine us, even though they are seldom, if ever coordinated. Thurow once again captures the essence of the threat:

Hitler hated America precisely because it was an ethnic melting pot without racially pure characteristics. The termites of ethnic homogeneity are busy gnawing at the social fabric almost everywhere... Successful societies have to unite around a powerful story with a sustaining ideology... there has to be a utopian vision that underlies some common goals that members of society can work together to achieve... Societies can unite in resisting an outside threat... But there is now no outside threat... If no vision is available, any society will retreat to ethnicity. The social system will be held together by focusing anger on some different or despised minority that needs to be "cleansed" from the land.⁴⁶

The groupists know what they are fighting and their lines of advance are pointed directly at our center of gravity, an ideology -- all men are created equal -- that is taken for granted, inherently fragile, easily corrupted, poorly understood, and weakly defended. Their uncoordinated efforts, like Lester

Thurow's termites, coalesce to achieve a unified destructive effect far beyond what any rational calculation would suggest they should.

The groupist's enemy, by and large, is the liberal democratic nation state with its penchant for universal humanitarian ideals and individual rights. Radical groupism directly attacks that which underpins individual rights and equal justice under the rule of law: that all men are created equal. The groupists elevate a set of communal values and a notion of group supremacy to the altar and hold these to be superior over all other rights and values - to include the individual human's rights to his life, his liberty, and his pursuit of happiness.⁴⁷ Radical groupism festers and multiplies in the growing seams and chasms between dysfunctional nation states, among disenfranchised peoples of the global economy, under minimalist national governments in an economically-driven world, and within an increasingly border-less world with regards to commerce, communication, transportation, and media. The freedom of association permitted within liberal democracies invites Thurow's "termites of ethnic homogeneity" to grow to plague proportions inside the incubators of freedom allowed by all states governed by the rule of law.

The best way to defeat an opponent is by the indirect approach; advance in such a way that the opposition does not even recognize a threat exists.⁴⁸ The ticking time-bomb of balkanization and its cousins; groupism, communal values, and

fascism; are the ultimate indirect attack on the American center of gravity. Americans fail to recognize the enemy of radical groupism moving against them and they are continually and successively being outflanked; both at home and abroad.

Fascist-oriented groupism does not conform to the goose-stepping precision of a Mussolini, a Franco, or a Hitler and therefore it operates below the threshold for identification by the entrenched, traditional strategists. Oblivious to a threat, Americans avoid the confining nature of a rigid ideology that could counter the new enemy and continue their preoccupation with the business of creating wealth and pursuing material well-being. The tentacles of the western world's corporate behemoths unabashedly pursue material wealth and capitalism's disintegrative effects on traditional societies incite a reactionary response from paranoid peoples who coalesce around the only effective defense they know: communal values.⁴⁹ Communal values formed along the incestuous lines of ethnic, racial, religious, or tribal zealotry create the conditions for a degenerative balkanization and radical groupism. Barber aptly captures and characterizes this conflict between the ever-intrusive corporate world and the reactionary response to its disintegrative effects among tribal communities as "Jihad vs. McWorld."⁵⁰ Communal values fill a nagging void hidden deep in the human psyche.

Nietzsche imagined a future decrepit world, driven by materialism, void of spirit, populated by "men without chests,"

conscious of only narrow and gluttonous self interest, and pursuing personal property and material well-being consistent with Locke's philosophy.⁵¹ Radical groupism aligns with Nietzsche's fears and attacks the prospect of this spiritual vacuum at its source by advocating a superior moral and ethical order; one driven by communal values rather than vacuous individual rights. This appeal finds a large receptive audience in those reeling from the withering pace of change in the modern capitalistic world. In large part, mankind abhors change and attempts to lock-in a way of life that is static and comfortable.⁵² Many people seek safe refuge from the dynamism, churn, and upheaval of the growing global marketplace. Balkanization and groupism represent a sanctuary for those reeling from the global economy and capitalism. Fascism has in the past and will in the future provide a powerful appealing ideological basis for these movements.

CONCLUSION

By failing to take counsel of Sun Tzu, Americans know not themselves and are thus blind to the enemy that creeps around them, through them, and entangles them. Unwilling to identify or contend with the enemy in their midst, Americans are oblivious to it at home and therefore are also helpless in trying to effectively confront it beyond their shores. Americans wait in vain for the familiar forms of state actors who will extend hostile politics by other means;⁵³ that will move along familiar geometry that invite a highly-trained conventional armed military response from us: lines of advance, decisive points, culminating points, and centers of gravity. The enemy, however, is far more insidious and dangerous than this. Radical groupism is corrosive to the founding basis of liberalism and grows like rust until it binds the gears of liberal democracy with a plethora of groups demanding recognition based on their group identity rather than individuals pursuing rights based on individual human identity. Political recognition of identity based on anything other than human identity is not consistent with Enlightenment thought and remains alien to our American cultural traditions of individual rights, natural law, equality before our Creator, and equality before the law.

Without the rigorous intellectual and political effort to clearly define the threat, the prospect of violence is easily wished away by those who are infatuated with peace. People who are not inured to a life of hardship and violence are easy prey

to the siren song of perpetual peace and prosperity.⁵⁴ If leaders tell a free people that no clear threats exist, the people cannot be faulted for acquiescing and pulling their support from the collective effort to protect against threats. The demise of military unit readiness and the inability to recruit sufficient numbers of forces into the ranks is no accident. The people in liberal societies are merely responding to their leaders' failure to identify the threat to their way of life.

The threat from the ethnically-pure model of economic success portends the direction from which we will be increasingly challenged and threatened. Our grand strategy needs to apply all components of national power to preclude the further establishment of the ethnically-pure economic model as an alternative to the liberal-democratic rule-of-law economic model. Consistent with this overall external effort, the strategy needs to attack the ethnically-pure model's related, supportive movements: radical groupism, communal values, and fascism. Internally, the strategy needs to redress the erosion of our domestic will to the swift currents of ethnically-pure influence. We must become pro-active in ridding ourselves of the disintegrative influences of groupism and once again elevating individual rights to a position of pre-eminence in our culture.

WORDCOUNT: 5,872.

ENDNOTES

¹ Sun Tzu, The Art of War, translated by Samuel Griffith (England: Oxford University Press, 1971), 84.

² Huston Smith, The Religions of Man, (Harper & Row, 1958), 211.

³ Ralph Peters, "The New Warrior Class," Parameters, Summer 1994, 24-25. The author challenges us to define ourselves and posits that until we answer the tough questions about who we are as a culture that savage warriors will continue to ravage us.

⁴ Proverbs 29:18.

⁵ Sun Tzu, 84.

⁶ Henry Kissinger, Diplomacy (New York, Touchstone, 1995), 50-52. Kissinger describes succinctly the idealism of Woodrow Wilson that has become the bedrock of American foreign-policy thinking for the last three generations.

⁷ Ibid., 303-317. The classic case of liberal democracy's inaction when conditions compelled it to act pro-actively and pre-empt was liberal Europe's response to Hitler's seizing of the Rhineland in 1936. The liberal democracies' subsequent appeasement with Hitler led to 50 million deaths in the global conflagration of World War II.

⁸ Margaret J. Wheatley and Myron Kellner-Rogers, The Community and the Future (New York: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1998), 17.

⁹ Ronald Reagan, National Security Strategy of the United States (Washington: Pergamon - Brassey's International Defense Publishers, 1988), 7, 10-11, 20. As recent as 1988, ideology as manifested in our moral and political example was listed as the first instrument of our national power.

¹⁰ Michael Shaara, Killer Angels, (New York, Ballantine Books, 1975), p. 27. Shaara writes as if through the eyes of Colonel Joshua Chamberlain. He describes the ideology of human freedom that fires Chamberlain to fight as he does. This is as fine and succinct a summary of the ideology of the United States as one can find anywhere: "The faith itself was simple: he believed in the dignity of man. He had grown up believing in America and the individual and it was a stronger faith than his faith in God. This was the land where no man had to bow. In this place at last a man could stand up free of the past, free of tradition and blood ties and the curse of royalty and become what he wished to become. This was the first place on earth where man mattered more than state. True freedom had begun here and it would spread

eventually over all the earth... he was fighting for the dignity of man and in that way he was fighting for himself. If men were equal in America, all these former Poles and English and Czechs and blacks, then they were equal everywhere, and there was really no such thing as a foreigner; there were only free men and slaves. And so it was not even patriotism but a new faith. The Frenchman may fight for France, but the American fights for mankind, for freedom; for the people, not the land."

¹¹ Kissinger, 50-52.

¹² Kissinger, 46.

¹³ Ralph Peters, "The New Strategic Trinity," Parameters, Winter 1998-99, 78. Peters describes the decreasing relative importance of the military to our nation. Peters allows that the military is less important to us than the banking system or the educational system or the media. The military is essential, but for increasingly limited purposes.

¹⁴ Napoleon Bonaparte, quoted in Herbert Lloyd, The Reasons Why (Camp Casey, Korea: n.p., 1 July 1992), 5, 220.

¹⁵ Continental Congress, "Declaration of Independence," in The Federalist (New York: Random House, Inc., n.d.), 619.

¹⁶ Samuel P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order. (New York: Simon & Schuster Inc., 1996), 70.

¹⁷ Betty Jean Craige, American Patriotism in a Global Society (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996), 21-22.

¹⁸ Kenneth Woodward, "2000 Years of Jesus," Newsweek, 29 March 1999, 56-57. Woodward posits that prior to Christ individuals were recognized only as members of tribes, nations, or families and conducted themselves accordingly. Christ's teachings changed this by stressing personal conversion. Woodward writes that this is "a crucial contribution of Western civilization because it releases the individual from the absolute constraints of family and society."

¹⁹ Francis Fukuyama, The End of History and the Last Man (New York: The Free Press, 1992), 56, 196-97. Fukuyama states, "it was Christianity that first introduced the idea of equality of all men in the sight of God, and thereby conceived of a shared destiny for all the peoples of the world." Fukuyama explains that Christian equality is based on the fact that all men are equally endowed with the faculty for moral choice. They are all equal insofar as they are moral agents. "The Christian God recognizes

all human beings universally, recognizes their individual human worth and dignity." Human dignity resides in man's moral character. Fukuyama eloquently describes the relationship between Christian doctrine and the emergence of liberal democratic societies.

²⁰ W.H. McNeill, The Rise of the West (New York: New American Library, 1965), 386-87. McNeill describes the profound and unique contribution of the Roman law tradition to the advancement of Western civilization by propelling simultaneously the advancement of human law, natural law, and scientific law.

²¹ T.R. Reid, "The World According to Rome," National Geographic, August 1997, 62-70. Reid illuminates the difference between the Roman and Chinese approaches to guaranteeing a civil society. While the Romans pursued the written law, the Chinese sages viewed a statute book as too inflexible to handle the infinite variety of human experience. Instead, the Chinese chose to trust people rather than laws.

²² J. Bronowski, Science and Human Values, (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), 68-69. Bronowski illuminates the causal link between the scientists pursuit of truth and the growth of liberal society with its emphasis on tolerance, dissent, freedom of thought and speech, justice, honor, human dignity, and self-respect. Scientific pursuit and liberalism are inextricably linked.

²³ Huntington, 71.

²⁴ Ayn Rand, Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal, (New York: The New American Library, 1966), 298. Rand summarizes the significance of the Declaration of Independence by lucidly deducing and demonstrating that the only purpose of government is to protect the rights of the individual.

²⁵ Thomas Paine, "Common Sense," in The World's Greatest Literature, edited by National Educational Alliance (New York: Standard Reference Works Publishing Company, Inc., 1958), p. 6545. Paine's seminal work sets the tone for the quintessential American perspective of government when he compares government to society: "...they (society and government) are not only different, but have different origins. Society is produced by our wants and government by our wickedness; the former promotes happiness positively by uniting our affections, the latter negatively by restraining our vices. The one encourages intercourse, the other creates distinctions. Society in every state is a blessing, but government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state an intolerable one..."

²⁶ James Madison, "The Federalist Number 10," The Federalist, (New York: Random House, Inc., n.d.), 57-59. Madison eloquently states the case for republican form of government over that of democracy: "...there is nothing (in a democracy) to check the inducements to sacrifice the weaker party or an obnoxious individual. Hence it is that such democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention; have ever been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property; and have in general been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths." Madison continues by laying out the case for representative government and bicameral legislative bodies to avoid the tendency toward a tyranny of the majority that would run roughshod over individual liberty.

²⁷ Edward Mead Earle, "Introduction", The Federalist, (New York: Random House, Inc., n.d.), xiv. Earle writes, "...the Constitution of the United States was as much concerned with property rights as with political liberties... the British philosophers like John Locke, who so strongly influenced American thinking in the late 18th century, made no secret of their belief that the protection of property was one of the primary concerns, if not indeed the first concern, of modern governments."

²⁸ Adam Smith, "Wealth of Nations," in The World's Greatest Literature, edited by National Educational Alliance (New York: Standard Reference Works Publishing Company, Inc., 1958), 5090-95. Adam Smith elaborates on the connections and cause and effect between division of labor, manufacturing, liberty, commerce, pursuit of self-interest, prosperity, free trade, good order, security, justice, and good government.

²⁹ Kevin Kelly, New Rules for the New Economy, (New York: Penguin Putnam, Inc., 1998), 115.

³⁰ Fukuyama, 42-43. "...liberalism can be defined simply as the rule of law that recognizes certain individual rights or freedoms from government control: civil rights, religious rights, political rights... (these are) compatible with those (rights) contained in the American Bill of Rights."

³¹ Rand, 35. "...what breeds poverty? If you look at the world of today and if you look back at history, you will see the answer: the degree of a country's freedom is the degree of its prosperity. Another current catch-phrase is the complaint that the nations of the world are divided into the "haves" and the "have-nots." Observe that the "haves" are those who have freedom, and that it is freedom that the "have-nots" have not."

³² Kissinger, 21.

³³ Ibid., 22-23, 30, 33-34.

³⁴ Ibid., 31-32, 44, 47, 51-52.

³⁵ Sun Tzu, 84.

³⁶ Benjamin R. Barber, Jihad vs McWorld (New York: Random House, Inc., 1996), 215-16, 220, 280-81.

³⁷ Kelly, 18-19, 90-91, 109-117. Kelly introduces the concept of sustainable disequilibrium. To achieve continuous innovation in the new economy, one must seek persistent disequilibrium. This pushes business activity towards chaos and a state of flux. Speed, agility, flexibility, nimbleness, and malleability are necessary attributes for economic success and they are maximized by decentralizing operations and empowering the lowest or outermost points of an organization. Kelly states that control of a process or organization must be pushed from the center to the fringe to enable the responsiveness that is required in the new economy.

³⁸ Fukuyama, 72-73. A Darwinism exists whereby free-market liberal cultures embracing the scientific method and technological innovation maintain a decisive military advantage over their rivals. As long as there is a prospect of war, states that hope to maintain their autonomy must adopt the ways and means of their enemies and rivals or they face possible annihilation. This leads to a subtle convergence toward the scientific method which Fukuyama maintains will inexorably lead to liberalism.

³⁹ John Keegan, A History of Warfare, (New York: Random House, Inc., 1993), 391-392. See also Kissinger, 52. See also Fukuyama, 262-63. See also Rand, 31.

⁴⁰ Barber, 281-82. The author explains the necessity for a developed, voluntary civil society to be in place for freedom and liberty to have much, if any meaning. Civil society occupies the middle ground between government and the private sector and "is thus public without being coercive, voluntary without being privatized." Civic institutions that constitute civil society often require generations to build. Some would argue that the successful liberal democratic model for free markets is the product of hundreds of years of evolution in Western civilization - a rather unique evolutionary product of a profound and unique process - not easily replicated.

⁴¹ Ibid., 243. Barber draws a distinction between consumers in a market economy who only speak of 'me' and citizens who speak a language of 'we.' "Markets preclude 'we' thinking and 'we'

action of any kind at all." Barber suggests that a whole host of individual choices made in the market do not amount to securing the common good. Pursuit of free trade and markets lead to atomization of society. See also Lester C. Thurow, The Future of Capitalism (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc, 1996), 257-58. The author states that capitalism (the market) explicitly denies the need for community in its endeavor to individualize every worker and every consumer decision. The free market's one goal of individual interest in maximizing personal consumption is hollow and cannot hold a society together in the long run. A system that recognizes only individual rights and admits no social responsibilities has no way to recognize and organize for societal needs. See also Thurow, 275-77. The author concisely describes the atomization of society that is inherent in the free market.

⁴² Thurow, 240-41. The author describes the lure of fascism in today's environment where no external threat compels us to unity of purpose: "If neither a powerful inside ideology nor a powerful outside threat exists, nations break into warring ethnic, racial, or class groups. People talk about a revival of fascism, not because fascist governments are about to return everywhere, but because fascism was the ultimate expression of ethnic superiority and the need for ethnic 'cleansing'."

⁴³ Ibid., 240-41.

⁴⁴ Keegan, 3. The author begins his work by reminding us that while the nation-state is a recent development, war has persisted for all of human history -- that war's origin "reaches into the most secret places of the human heart, places where self dissolves rational purpose, where pride reigns, where emotion is paramount, where instinct is king." The places where war reaches into 'secret places' are places that ethnicity looms large.

⁴⁵ Thurow. 238.

⁴⁶ Thurow, 241, 257-58.

⁴⁷ Howard, "Land of War; Land of Peace," Wilson Quarterly, Winter 1997, 32-33. Communal values had a much stronger appeal in 19th and 20th century Europe than most will now acknowledge. The values of the Enlightenment were opposed by a formidable creed rooted in authoritarian, hierarchical monarchism grafted onto populist nationalism. This creed sought legitimacy in communal values based on ethnic solidarity. It disdained as evil and alien the egalitarian, individualistic materialism associated with western values.

⁴⁸ Liddell Hart, Strategy (New York: Praeger, Inc., 1967), 18-20.

⁴⁹ Barber, 243-45.

⁵⁰ Barber, 219-24.

⁵¹ Fukuyama, 188-190.

⁵² Thurow, 232-33.

⁵³ Carl Von Clausewitz, On War (England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1968), 119.

⁵⁴ Ralph Peters, "Heavy Peace," Parameters (Spring 1999): 75.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barber, Benjamin R. Jihad vs McWorld. New York: Random House, Inc., 1966.
- Bonaparte, Napoleon. Quoted in Herbert Lloyd, The Reasons Why, 5, 220. Camp Casey, Korea: n.p., 1 July 1992.
- Bronowski, J. Science and Human Values. New York: Harper & Row, 1975.
- Clausewitz, Carl Von. On War. England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1968.
- Craige, Betty Jean. American Patriotism in a Global Society. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996.
- Fukuyama, Francis. The End of History and the Last Man. New York: The Free Press, 1992.
- Hamilton, Alexander, John Jay, and James Madison. The Federalist. New York: Random House, Inc., n.d.
- Hart, Liddell. Strategy. New York: Praeger, Inc., 1967.
- Howard, Michael. "Land of War; Land of Peace." Wilson Quarterly (Winter 1997): 30-36.
- Huntington, Samuel P. The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order. New York: Simon & Schuster Inc., 1996.
- Keegan, John. A History of Warfare. New York: Random House Inc., 1993.
- Kelly, Kevin. New Rules for the New Economy. New York: Penguin Putnam, Inc., 1998.
- Kennan, George F. Around the Cragged Hill. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1993.
- Kissinger, Henry. Diplomacy. New York: Touchstone, 1995.
- McNeill, W. H. The Rise of the West. New York: New American Library, 1965.
- Miller, John J. The Unmaking of Americans. New York: The Free Press, 1998.

- Paine, Thomas. "Common Sense." In The World's Greatest Literature. Edited by National Educational Alliance. New York: Standard Reference Works Publishing Company, Inc., 1958. 6545-49.
- Peters, Ralph. "Heavy Peace." Parameters (Spring 1999): 71-79.
- _____. "The New Strategic Trinity." Parameters (Winter 1998-99): 73-79.
- _____. "The New Warrior Class." Parameters (Summer 1994): 16-25.
- Rand, Ayn. Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal. New York: The New American Library, 1966.
- Reagan, Ronald. National Security Strategy of the United States. Washington: Pergamon - Brassey's International Defense Publishers, 1988.
- Reid, T.R. "The World According to Rome." National Geographic (August 1997): 54-83.
- Sandel, Michael J. Democracy's Discontent. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996.
- Shaara, Michael. Killer Angels. New York: Ballantine Books, 1975.
- Smith, Adam. "Wealth of Nations." In The World's Greatest Literature. Edited by National Educational Alliance. New York: Standard Reference Works Publishing Company, Inc., 1958. 5090-95.
- Smith, Huston. The Religions of Man. New York: Harper & Row, 1958.
- Sun Tzu. The Art of War. Translated by Samuel Griffith. England: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- The Bible. King James Version.
- Thurow, Lester C. The Future of Capitalism. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc, 1996.
- Wheatley, Margaret J. and Myron Kellner-Rogers. The Community and the Future. New York: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1998.
- Woodward, Kenneth. "2000 Years of Jesus." Newsweek (March 29, 1999): 52-63.